

572 most often between a boy of ten or twelve and an older boy
857 of sixteen or seventeen. It is, as far as I could observe, a kind
of hero worship on the part of the younger boy. The two are
companions and friends, walk around arm in arm or hand
in hand, and the younger one acts as a tag to the older,
obeying the orders of the latter. If the two are occupied in
some joint task, such as carrying water, it is the younger who
[482] will carry the heaviest and longest bamboo trunk filled with
water.¹ This division of labour is the rule among all groups
of boys, whether there are pairs of friends within the group
or not. The friendship between two boys of different ages
572 is frequently found between two boys of the same clan.
857 Lagawa, a boy of about ten years, is a member of the *Solema*
574 clan and lives in the hamlet of Ponambatawa, at one end of
593 the village of Lesu. At the other end of the village, in the
hamlet of Penguli, lives Ladawin, a boy in his late teens and
also of the *Solema* clan. Ladawin and Lagawa are very good
friends. One day Lagawa came to Penguli to visit Ladawin
and stayed with him in the men's house. After about a week's
time, Lagawa's father came to take him home. The boy
refused to go and sat on the ground sobbing. Then the
father took him by the hand, but still the boy refused to rise
or move. The father tried to drag him along the ground, but
gave up the attempt. Ladawin and a few members of the
boy's clan stood to one side and said nothing. A few other
men who were there talked kindly to the boy, advising him
to go home, and saying that later he could come for another
visit. But the boy continued to weep and did not move.
Finally, the father walked off without his son. After he had

¹ Frequently water was carried for me by a whole group of boys, particularly when I needed a large quantity for developing photographs. Each time I noticed that the smaller boys carried the heaviest loads, while the older boys brought the smallest containers. I casually mentioned the matter to one of the older boys, who took the division of tasks quite as a matter of course and did not even think it worth talking about. It was the accepted pattern between younger and older boys.

CHILDHOOD

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gone Lagawa stood up, stopped crying, took Ladawin's hand, and together the two boys went to the beach. Lagawa remained at Penguli for over a month, taking part in its daily life and spending most of his time in Ladawin's company. He appeared very contented. His father did not return again for him and the boy went home a month or so later on his own initiative. 572 857 574 • 593

This incident is of interest from several points of view. First, it shows the friendship between a younger and older boy.¹ Second, it is an interesting example of the limits of a father's authority over his son and of the bonds between clan relatives.

If the orthodox rule of matrilineal residence is not observed, a boy frequently runs away from home to his matrilineal relatives. Under the same circumstances a girl sometimes runs away to the hamlet of her clan relatives. The parents can never compel the children to return. They come back when they feel like it, and this is regarded as normal behaviour for the children. After the incident when Lagawa's father tried to persuade him to come home, there was no discussion by any of the onlookers. When I began to talk about it, they took the attitude that the boy was "within his rights," and that the whole incident was a normal one in daily life. 591 574 593

Another happening throws some light on the parent-child pattern. Pulong is rather fond of gossip and loafing, and at sunset, which is pig feeding time, she is sometimes reluctant to leave my veranda, or some other place, where she has 595

¹ Similar pairing off of an older and younger boy was observed among non-clan relatives. There was the friendship of my cook, Sinbanimous, married, and at least in his late teens, and Malalis, a boy of about twelve. Malalis followed Sinbanimous about and they were constant companions. When I left Lesu, Sinbanimous left too, as he and his wife were returning to their own village some distance away. Malalis went with them for a long visit. As I left the island then, I do not know the further development of their friendship.

In the village there were several other such pairs of friends.

INITIATION RITES

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The next day the cooking preparations proceed in earnest. 881
Over a hundred women gather at Ponatlege and the 778
adjoining hamlet to prepare the taro. The men are busy 535
wrapping the fish in leaves and tending to the *liga*. The
only idlers are a few old men, some of whom sit and play
with the babies, while others are chatting in the men's
house. The food is left on the *liga* overnight, and the next
day sees the climax of the *malanggan* rites.

By the middle of the morning all the people of Lesu, 574
Ambwa, and Langania, and many from the more distant 484
villages of Libba and Tandis, and even a few from Fakmalak
and Laummasong, both of different language groups, arrive
at Ponatlege. Five or six hundred people are present. The
men and women sit around in a large open space in the
centre of the hamlet left free for dancing. The men sit on
the side nearest the enclosure and the men's house, while the
women are on the other side; even quite young children
observe this distinction. On the side where the women sit
a small temporary booth is erected to hold baked taro and
bananas. This is for the women who, if they are hungry
between dances, go in and eat. The men do not eat any of
this food, but wait until the rites are over for the day.
Everyone is anxious for the dancing to begin.

In come the first group of dancers, who are from Lesu. 292
Each man wears an elaborate mask, a grass or rather leaf
petticoat, and a red shirt. In the past, instead of the red 439
shirt, which he now buys especially for this occasion from 302
the trade store on a near-by plantation, he painted his body
red from the waist up so that his identity might remain
concealed. As each dancer enters, an old man blows from his 789
hand some powdered lime, *lest*, in front of the performer, to
make him dance well. The dancers enter in couples, except
the first man who acts as a leader, escorting in each pair of
dancers. When all have appeared, they dance together in
circle and line formation. The dance is a very strenuous

Members of the society come together at a feast to welcome a new member, to mourn the loss of an old one, to mark a change in the social status of the individual through circumcision, menstruation, or marriage, to note the return to the society of a member after a temporary withdrawal through illness, and before a communal enterprise such as war. Should there be a rift occasioned by a quarrel, it is the coming together over food that mends it.³ On all these occasions society manifests its unity. While the rites vary according to the event, food is a common denominator of all of them.

The feast provides not only an opportunity for the society to express collectively those sentiments which maintain its existence, but it also serves more concretely as the occasion for the transaction of much of the business and social (apart from ritual) life of the community. It is at the feasts that trade is carried on. Payments are made for objects and services, and future trading operations are arranged. On the same occasion individuals and groups exchange gifts. A feast also frequently becomes a meeting where matters of importance are discussed. Finally, it is a sociable occasion for both sexes, when jokes and gossip are exchanged.

The second function affects the relation of the individual to his group and the relation between several individuals. The native's explanation of why he gives a feast is that he must do so to gain prestige. Rather does he put it in a negative way, that, unless he gives a feast on any of the occasions which demand one, he will be a person of no account: everyone will talk about him in a derogatory fashion, saying that he has no food or wealth, and is not able to give a feast. To a native this kind of gossip is most noxious; a lowering of his prestige must be avoided at any cost, and the number and the size of the feasts he gives are most important in affecting his position.

(4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given collective expression on appropriate occasions. (5) The ceremonial (i.e., collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it from one generation to another.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown has applied this theory to Andaman society and has described the various ritual occasions in the Andaman society which serve to maintain and strengthen these sentiments. He has not, however, applied his theory or mentioned it in connection with feasts. His theory of the social value of food is that "food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations" (p. 278). This theory deals with the social value of food itself and how society overcomes the danger resulting from the social value. The above article is concerned with quite a different aspect, namely, the social function of eating.

³ This is just the final mark that the quarrel is over. Preceding the feast there is an exchange of 'sery (currency) between the two disputants.

- 574 Around food also is focused much of the prestige of an individual in his
 554 family. Here a man's standing is largely dependent upon his ability as a
 586 food provider and the woman's upon her industry in preparing the food.
 Failure on the part of either partner to fulfill these obligations is sufficient
 cause for a divorce.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

- 61 Before describing the feasts and showing the way in which much of life
 centers around food, it is necessary to give a very brief description of the
 essentials of the social organization. There are two exogamous moieties,
 the Eagle and the Hawk, which are subdivided into clans. Descent is ma-
 trilineal, the clan consisting of an extended family, all related through the
 female line. The next kinship unit in order of size is the individual family,
 which may be monogamous, is frequently polygamous, and occasionally
 polyandric.

- 621 On the basis of locality the largest unit is the village. In the district
 where I lived there are five villages forming one linguistic unit. This is not
 and never has been, as far as I could observe, a political unit. In the past,
 [721] warfare was frequent between the villages and there neither was nor is one
 chief for all of them, each having its own. The village is subdivided into
 [541] hamlets,—Lesu into fifteen. Residence is matrilocal and so a hamlet will
 usually have many female members of the same clan. The hamlet has from
 two to seven or eight houses, each one having its communal cooking ground
 [764] and generally a cook house also, for use on rainy days. With the exception
 of the very small ones, a hamlet has its own cemetery and men's house.

- 105 The society is agricultural. Gardening, fishing, hunting wild pigs, and
 cooking are the main everyday occupations. Trading is important and car-
 ried on according to exact and traditional rules. The familiar Melanesian
 gift-exchange is also practiced.

FREQUENCY OF FEASTS

- 527 After living in this society for only a short time, one is impressed by the
 574 great frequency of feasts. The following is a list of occasions on which they
 are held.

Occasion	Name
Pregnancy	aning asl tsegγ (eating for infant)
Birth	Grumysi (name of dance performed by women at this rite)
Giving name to infant	Basisis (name)
Several months after birth if infant is strong	aning asl wətwət tsegγ (eating for strong infant)

At appearance of first tooth	aning asil nuji (eating for tooth)
After ritual washing of a girl at her first menstruation	ts. tsil (name of leaf used in washing)
Marriage	maril (name of playful fighting occurring between women of opposite moieties at this time)
Circumcision	Lual in γ ts. sauk γ (feast for cutting penis)
Recovery from illness	Bis Bambull γ (make taro die ⁴)
Going away a long distance	aning at γ basi γ ap (eat and go)
Feast at death	Koser γ lual (Make feast)
Feast some time after death has occurred	Koser γ lual mau tungän (free translation: make feast for dead; literally, implies feast is held on ground where men are buried)
Malanggon ⁵ rites	Koser γ lual (make feast)
To make arrangements for future malanggon rites	äginlän t bul (mark pig)
To end quarrel	lambii (finish)
Before war ⁶	Lual tanta bul maril (feast to bring fight)
To make peace between warring villages	lambii (finish)
Feast given for possible mates of female infants	aning tsing tsil (eating play)
When there is abundance of food	an γ n n al γ t (food much)
To repay women who helped an ill woman	aning oba (eating, communal work)
To repay workers on a house or garden fence	aning oba (eating, communal work)
At completion of my house ⁷	rs. ali anu γ (open house)

During the ten months of my visit I attended eighty-five feasts, a large majority of which took place in the village of Lesu. The others occurred in neighboring villages, but were also attended by Lesu people.⁷

The eighty-five feasts fall into the following classes:

Feasts at death..... 9

⁴ The tops of this taro are thrown away and not replanted as is usually the case.

⁵ Malanggon is the name of an elaborate carving displayed at certain mortuary rites.

⁶ Warfare has been abolished by the mandated government and the feasts connected with it are therefore no longer held. The feast before war and the one to make peace between warring villages are the only ones on the list which were not held during my visit. [177]

^{6a} This feast was called by a different name from the one ordinarily used to repay the workers on a native house, and is really an introduced element in the culture.

⁷ Not included in this number is the communal eating on the part of the men every day for several weeks after a death. These might well be considered ritual feasts, but I have included only those which mark a very specific occasion, such as those in the foregoing list. [264] [765]

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527	After death feasts.....	32
	Nineteen of this number were connected with the display of malanggons.	
574	Circumcision rites ⁸	8
	In payment for economic services.....	5
	These were to repay workers who had built a house or made a garden fence.	
	Women's feasts.....	11
	Those at which the women eat or where the food is distributed to them. The latter is the more frequent occurrence. The men do not eat at the women's feasts. They may be further analyzed as follows: birth, 4; pregnancy, 1; circumcision, 1; menstruation, 1; marriage, 1; malanggon, ⁹ 1; end of dance rehearsals, 1; payment to women who had helped a sick woman of opposite moiety, 1.	
	Miscellaneous feasts.....	20
	These are subdivided as follows: abundance of some particular food, 9; baby cutting his first tooth, 1; giving of name to infant, 1; recovery from illness, 2; settlement of quarrel, 1; because infant is strong, 1; for possible mates of infant, 1; end of folk-tale telling period, 1; for my departure, 1; for my servant's departure, 1; just sociability, 1.	

At the far end of the village, other minor feasts probably occurred which I did not record or witness. The number of people attending ranged from twenty to five hundred.

PREPARATIONS FOR A FEAST

574 Preparing for a feast is a communal enterprise. Early in the morning of the feast, or the day before if it is a big one, the women of the hamlet, 252 village, or several villages, depending on the size of the feast, bring their 402 taro to the communal cooking ground or cook house.¹⁰ They and the girls old enough to be of assistance immediately begin the work of scraping and preparing the taro to be baked. Their only implement is a shell called 'sip, with which they scrape the skin from the taro. The scraped taro is then wrapped in leaves. The women are quite ingenious in cooking, and there are a number of ways in which this general method is varied. Shredded coconut may be added, or the taro may be cut in a certain manner, or the inside may be scooped out, etc. The women sit in a group on the ground, working busily and seriously. A few men are off on one side tending to the liga, a pile of hot stones on which the food is to be baked. A fire is made to heat the

⁸ At these circumcision rites malanggons were displayed. So the rites really had a double function—mortuary and circumcision.

⁹ Men ate at this feast, too, but separately from the women.

[262] ¹⁰ The principal foods are taro, fish, crabs, pigs, bananas, coconuts, and pawpaws, supplemented by yams, sago, turtle, etc. Taro is the staple article of diet, and its preparation is the main work both of family meals and feasts.

stones, and when these are hot they are leveled and the food put between them. Leaves and sand are then put over it, and the food remains there until it is baked. Men are working in groups of two or three, but not very continuously, wrapping a fish or a pig in leaves preparatory to baking, or bringing in leaves from the bush to wrap around the food. Their work in this connection is never as steady as the women's work. A man may tend to the *liga* and then loiter around for a half hour or more, until there is something else to do. Frequently the men will take care of the babies, while the mothers scrape the taro. The main work of cooking falls upon the women; although the men do assist, this does not break into the sexual division of labor.

When the women have finished preparing the taro (for a big feast this takes at least three or four hours), and after it has been placed in the *liga*, the ground on which they have been working is cleaned and they take their ease. Until now they have been working seriously and without stopping, except perhaps to nurse a baby. There has been no talking except for the necessary remarks about the taro. Now they sit in the same place smoking their pipes and chatting. Gossip is exchanged, jokes are told and followed with appreciative laughter, and here and there a woman is engaged in the pastime of searching for lice in a friend's or relative's hair. If a woman of the village has just become pregnant, there will be playful fighting between the women of the opposite moieties. This part of the pregnancy rites occurs whenever there is a group of women present. The men in the meantime are a short distance away, on the beach, in the compound in front of the men's house or some other house, in groups of two or three, smoking and chatting but not in any large group. This period—while the food is baking in the *liga*—is an easy, convivial, feminine communal occasion, as is the eating which follows for the men.

DESCRIPTION OF FEAST

Three or four hours later, when the food has been baked, the men and boys carry it in their hands into the cemetery. For the men the cemetery serves as a banqueting hall and most of the men's ritual feasts are held there.¹¹ Women are never permitted in the cemetery for a feast, or at any other time, except at a burial, and then they leave immediately after the interment.¹²

¹¹ The economic feasts in payment to workers are not always held in the cemetery, and the *malanggon* ones are held in a special structure erected for them. The connection of eating in the cemetery with mortuary beliefs must be considered at another time.

¹² However, I was invited to all the feasts, and the invitations were always accepted.

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574 In the cemetery the food is eaten with traditional etiquette. The men sit on the ground around the sides of the cemetery. At one end is the pile of food and near it the host or hosts. The bundles of food are opened by the host usually, and then it is customary for him to make a speech, explaining the reason for the feast and mentioning those who have contributed food to it. Several young men act as "waiters" and place a banana leaf on the ground in front of each man, or sometimes one leaf for every two or three men. Then the waiters evenly distribute the food on these leaves, each one getting exactly the same number of taro, bananas, etc. A "waiter" takes as many taro as he can hold and puts about three on each leaf and then he takes another lot and distributes them, until they are evenly divided. At a highly ritual feast, which I attended, for the display of malanggons during circumcision rites, ten men acted as waiters, advancing in a line to the pile of food, picking it up in unison, walking to the leaf plates, and then after waiting for a signal from one of the hosts, put the food down at exactly the same moment. The signal was: "Arurini la prily" (Put it on ground).

No one ever begins to eat until all the food has been apportioned. At the feast just mentioned a second signal was given for this. The two hosts walked silently the length of the enclosure in which the feast was being held, each holding a small pig's bone. The guests were silent. Then the hosts threw the bones away and the eating started. At less important and less formal feasts this signal is frequently omitted, but even then no one ever eats before the "waiters" have finished their work of distribution. Then the guests eat, but not the host. It would be considered very bad form for a host to eat at his own feast.

TRADE AFTER THE FEAST

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574 When the men have finished eating, business affairs of varying nature are conducted. If pigs have been eaten at the feast, payment is now made for them. A string of 'sery (shell currency) is held up by the man giving the feast and he says to whom he is paying it and what for. Then the 'sery is handed over to the seller of the pig. Should the occasion be a very big feast at which many pigs were consumed, this payment will usually be made outside the cemetery, where the 'sery can be given to the women owners of the pigs as well as to the men.

Any other payments due are made at this time. Should a man have purchased a dog, he now makes the payment to the former owner. Preparations are also made for future trading arrangements. One feast was held particularly to arrange for the purchase of pigs to be used at malanggon rites ten months later. The people who would sell their pigs for these com-

ing rites were given bundles of baked sago. The chief called out their names and the sago was given to them. This "marked" them as those who would sell pig for the future rites. The names of some women were called, and when the feast was over they came up to the cemetery to get their sago. 437
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GIFT EXCHANGE

The feast is not only the time for payments and arrangements for future trading, but also for gifts. Usually not all the pigs are consumed at the feasts, and large portions, a head or half the body, will be presented to some one present. Sometimes this is a return gift for a present of half a pig which had been made six months ago, or perhaps it is a new gift to a man, who will return it at another feast. The gifts are always made ceremonially, the name of the recipient being called, and then the piece of pig is handed to him by one of the "waiters." 437
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DISCUSSION

At the end of the feast other matters of importance and current interest are discussed. If dance rehearsals are in progress, one man will make a speech exhorting the men to dance well and to practice rigorously. Or the chief may map out plans for a coming big feast, that is, when they will bring in the bananas to be buried in the sand,¹³ when they will fish, what day the women will prepare the taro, etc. Or perhaps, as happened at one feast I attended, the weather was the subject of discussion. The rainy season (time of northwest monsoon) had begun, and for several weeks there had been a deluge of rain. Everyone was disgusted at having to slide about in the wet mud, and much more serious was the threatened danger to the taro crops. After the men had finished eating, the old and rather famous rain magician, Bullagot, made a long speech, encouraging the men and telling them that the excessive amount of rain was due to the magician of a neighboring village, but that he would counteract this by making his own magic to stop the rain. He was followed by other old men, all making speeches of a similar nature, exhorting people not to be downhearted, saying that Bullagot would stop the rain. The younger men listened and were impressed. It was not unlike a Biblical scene where the ancient prophets encouraged the people in a time of famine or other hardship. 521
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Occasionally a concluding speech is made, although this does not happen very frequently. At the feast to make arrangements for buying the pigs for the future malanggon rites, the chief made a concluding speech, during 821

¹³ Bananas are buried in the sand on the beach about a week previous to a feast. The resulting banana is very soft and squashy. 537
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537 which he walked up and down singing and talking. He gave once more the
 574 reason for the feast, said they had now "marked" all the pigs, and then made a few more remarks about the size of the animals and the number of men present.

[285] Finally, each man makes a rude coconut-leaf basket in which he carries home the remains of his food. But before they leave, the men carefully
 574 clean the cemetery and throw all debris into the sea, near which the cemetery is always placed. Not a scrap of food nor any other refuse, such as a leaf "plate," remains, the cemetery being left in the same neat condition
 [515] that it was in before the feast. This work done, hands are washed in the sea (the sea as a finger bowl is one of its many uses for the native), and then the men drift away singly or in small groups, each carrying his basket with the remains of the food.

RECIPROCITY BETWEEN MOIETIES

437 This ritual feast, held on all occasions of importance to the individual or
 616 to society, is also frequently the time when the principle of reciprocity be-
 574 tween both moieties and localities is seen in full play.

At the feminine feasts, such as pregnancy, birth, first menstruation, and marriage, where there is a distribution of food, the women of the Eagle moiety bring taro which is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and the women of the Hawk moiety likewise bring taro which in turn is given to the women of the Eagle moiety. This exchange is never omitted. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and then place it in the *liga* themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the *liga*, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety, who do likewise to the women of the Eagle moiety. The taro is of course all exactly the same and prepared in the same fashion, so that one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the ritual exchange between the moieties that is important. At some feasts uncooked taro is exchanged. At the feast, when the men eat, this act of reciprocity does not take place among them: the food is opened up in the cemetery and the taro is distributed regardless of moiety.

RECIPROCITY BETWEEN VILLAGES

437 It is the uncooked taro that is most often the object of exchange be-
 574 tween the women of different villages at intervillage feasts—usually mortuary and malanggon ones. Sometimes the exchange does not always take
 621 place at the one feast. The women of Lesu may go to a feast at Ambwa, three miles away, and receive much taro. At a later time the women of Ambwa will come to a similar feast at Lesu and receive taro as a return gift.

At other times the exchange may be effected at the same feast. In the same way, men of Libba will eat at a feast at Lesu, and later the Lesu men will eat at a Libba feast. A feast thus provides the occasion when both individuals and groups pay off their obligations. 437
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FEMININE SPEECHES ABOUT HUSBANDS

At the ritual feasts of circumcision, birth, and marriage, another custom is given an opportunity for expression. At these feasts it is customary for the women to make speeches about their husbands, as good or bad food-providers. The food is arranged in two piles, one contributed by the Eagle moiety, and the other by the Hawk. The Eagle women come on the scene together, each brandishing a masculine implement of work—a fishing net, a spade, etc. They circle around the pile of food contributed by the Hawk moiety, each woman in turn holding up a tool and making a speech about her husband. If she carries a net, she talks about his industry in fishing and how he very often brings her fish. Or she may say the opposite,—how lazy he is. Each woman makes her speech, and the “audience,” male and female, listens to it with quiet appreciation. There are grins and chuckles during a speech about a lazy man, while he hangs his head in shame. When the women of one moiety have finished, the other women enter and go through the same procedure. The speeches show very clearly how much the man’s prestige in his family depends upon his ability as a provider of food. These ritual feasts give the women the opportunity of publicly praising or blaming their husbands and they never let it pass by. 537
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DAILY MEALS

Feasts are of course not the only time when natives eat. When they get up at sunrise, they will eat a cold baked taro left over from the day before. But this is not a meal. The man will often munch his taro as he strolls about the beach, while the woman will eat her’s casually as she tidies the house or collects her implements, baskets, etc. to go to the garden. In the middle of the afternoon, when they have returned from the gardens, if hungry, another cold baked taro will be eaten casually. But after the sun has set there is the family meal. The food for this is sometimes prepared by the wife, or wife and daughter together, and at other times the women of the hamlet may cook communally. The baked food is later taken to each individual household. There, in the open compound in front of the house, each family gathers around the fire and partakes of the common meal. Certainly this meal emphasizes the unity of the family and tends to foster those sentiments which hold the family together—just as the feasts keep alive the sentiments binding larger groups. 264

OTHER CUSTOMS CENTERING ABOUT FOOD

264 There are various interesting customs which center around food apart from feasts or family meals. These may just be mentioned here as showing the important sociological rôle of food. Betrothal is consummated by the girl preparing some food for the man and their sitting down with the basket of food between them and eating together. In many folk-tales, when we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down and eat together, this expresses the fact that they are married. A woman never eats with her lover.

[584] The remains of food are connected with black magic, and so one is careful never to leave any left-overs about.

[754] Even the ghosts are concerned with food. After a successful fishing expedition a half taro and a small piece of fish is left on the liga for the ghosts of dead clan ancestors whose aid has been asked in fishing magic.

262 The prohibition of certain foods on particular occasions is the essential part of several taboos. The most important of these is the taboo against eating taro for certain relatives of a dead person over a prescribed period of mourning. During pregnancy a woman may not eat a certain fish. This is one with many bones, and it is thought that they would hurt the embryo child. A pregnant woman will be given a half of a baked taro by a woman who has had children. The latter eats the other half, and this act is believed to insure a successful delivery of the infant.

262 Food is the most frequent form of gift between husband and wife,
431 between mother's brother and his nephew or niece, between brother and
574 sister, and between friends. It is also an invariable mark of hospitality to offer food to a stranger.

SOCIAL FUNCTION

182 From the preceding description it is obvious that feasts in this society
264 have other functions beside the satisfaction of physical hunger. Sometimes
574 there is more than one feast in a day and the men then eat as a duty rather than because they are hungry. One day there were three feasts in near-by hamlets, and all attended by the same men. Two were connected with death rites, and one was to mark the occasion of an infant's cutting his first tooth. By the time the third feast was reached, the men were not hungry, but all ate.

Even the family meal, which has the very definite physiological function of satisfying hunger, has also the sociological rôle of uniting the various members. In a similar way the sentiments binding the society together are given collective expression at the feasts, although the very strong line of sex

demarcation is observed. The general rule for feasts is that the women cook and the men eat.¹⁴ Now if a communal activity strengthens the cohesion of a group, the division of society into two groups on one occasion emphasizes the solidarity of each group. But since each of the two groups are partaking in the same rite, there is no real loosening of the sentiments which bind the whole society but rather a further integration of it. The same rites thus have a contradictory function, in that at them the society is united and at the same time divided on lines of sex.

SUMMARY

Feasts provide the occasions when the sentiments on which a society depends for its maintenance are given expression. The objects about which these systems of sentiments center are in New Ireland, as we have seen:

1. Important crises in the life history of the individual, such as pregnancy, birth, marriage, death, etc.
2. Trade—payments made for pigs and other things that have been sold.
3. Exchange of gifts between individuals and groups, wherein the important principle of reciprocity functions.
4. The privilege of women to make speeches about their husband's industry.
5. Maintenance of the individual's prestige.

About all of these—trade, gift exchange, reciprocity between moieties, crises in an individual's life, economic relationship between a man and his wife, prestige—systems of emotional tendencies are organized, and it is necessary according to the theory described in the beginning of the paper, for these systems to be maintained, strengthened, and transmitted from one generation to another. Feasts are a form of ritual which thus have the social function of impressing upon the individual the sentiments of his society.

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¹⁴ At seventy-five of the eighty-five feasts I attended, only the men ate.